

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 ACDA-19 SCI-06 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 AEC-11 AECE-00 EA-11 RSR-01 /144 W

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O 282322 Z JUN 73 ZFF4

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8621

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 2427

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM UR

SUBJ: USSR REQUEST FOR JOINT CIRCULATION OF AGREEMENT ON  
NUCLEAR WAR AND OF NIXON- BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE

SUMMARY : SOV MISSION, ON INSTRUCTIONS, HAS PROPOSED JOINT-  
US- USSR MISSION CIRCULATION OF NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT AND OF  
JOINT COMMUNIQUE. PRECEDENT IS JOINT CIRCULATION OF 1972 MOSCOW  
SUMMIT DOCUMENTS. WE SEE NO CRITICAL ADVANTAGES OR DISADVANTAGES  
TO AGREEING TO SOV PROPOSAL, BUT WE BELIEVE DEPT SHOULD CONSIDER  
CERTAIN NEGATIVE CONSIDERATIONS BEFORE WE RESPOND. ACTION  
REQUESTED: GUIDANCE FOR RESPONSE TO SOV MISSION. END SUMMARY.

1. SOV DEPUTY PERM REP ISSREALYAN TELEPHONED AMB SCHAUFLE  
JUNE 27 ON INSTRUCTIONS TO PROPOSE JOINT US- USSR MISSION CIRCULA-  
TION OF AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND OF NIXON-  
BREZHNEV JOINT COMMUNIQUE. HE, APPARENTLY DELIBERATELY, REFERRED  
FIRST TO NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT.

2. DEPT WILL RECALL THAT AT OUR SUGGESTION LAST YEAR WE  
CIRCULATED, UNDER SINGLE LETTER SIGNED BY AMB BUSH AND  
MALIK, TEXT OF BASIC PRINCIPLES AND TEXT OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE  
RESULTING FROM 1972 MOSCOW SUMMIT ( SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT  
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S/10074 OF 2 JUNE 1973). SUBSEQUENTLY, WE JOINED POLISH MISSION IN CIRCULATING NIXON- JABLONSKI COMMUNIQUE ( SECURITY COUNCIL DOCUMENT S/10693 OF JUNE 12, 1972).

3. WE ACCEPT OBVIOUS ADVANTAGE THAT JOINT CIRCULATION OF 1973 SUMMIT DOCUMENTS REMINDS UN COMMUNITY OF SIGNIFICANT PRODUCTS OF DETENTE. FROM NARROW UN TACTICAL VIEWPOINT, WE BELIEVE ALSO THAT JOINT ACTION OF THIS TYPE PROVIDES US WITH USEFUL REFERENCE POINT WHAT WE INEVITABLY ( AS IS CASE IN CURRENT DISPUTE OVER SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING IN GENEVA) SEE ADVANTAGE IN INSISTING TO MALIK THAT A PARTICULAR UNHELPFUL ACTION IN UN IS INCONSISTENT WITH DETENTE SPIRIT.

4. WE DO NOT WISH TO DRAMATIZE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOV REQUEST AND SEE NO CRITICAL ADVANTAGES OR DISADVANTAGES TO GOING ALONG WITH IT. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE DEPT WILL WISH TO CONSIDER SEVERAL DISADVANTAGES TO JOINT CIRCULATION BEFORE WE RESPOND TO SOVS:

( A) CIRCULATION OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE:

(I) ALTHOUGH WE DID CIRCULATE 1972 SUMMIT DOCUMENT ( AND POLISH- US DOCUMENT), WE BELIEVE CIRCULATION THIS TIME WILL TEND TO FIRM UP PRECEDENT NOT ONLY FOR FUTURE JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH SOVS BUT ALSO FOR OTHERS. IF WE DO THIS WITH SOVS THIS YEAR, WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE SIMILAR STEP WITH JOINT COMMUNIQUE RELATING TO OTHER MEMBER STATES.

( II) IN ARENA WHERE CHINESE DISPLAY PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY TO SOVIET- US COLLUSION, PRC PRESUMABLY WILL BELIEVE SUCH ADDITIONAL SUPERPOWER DISPLAY TO BE OFFENSIVELY GRATUITOUS.

( III) WE DID NOT JOIN CHINESE IN CIRCULATING 1972 SINO- US SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HERE.

( B) AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

(I) WE DID NOT CIRCULATE TEXTS OF AGREEMENTS ( IN ADDITION TO TWO DOCUMENTS) FROM 1972 MOSCOW SUMMITS.

( II) WHILE THIS 1973 NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT CLEARLY IS THE ONE OF PRINCIPAL INTEREST TO UN COMMUNITY, JOINT CIRCULATION OF THIS TO EXCLUSION OF OTHERS RESULTING FROM NIXON- BREZHNEV SUMMIT WOULD TEND TO DOWNGRADE CONFIDENTIAL

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OTHERS.

( III) SUCH AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY WHEN CIRCULATED IN UN CONTEXT, SERVES TO UNDERLINE SUPERPOWER RELATIONSHIP ON NUCLEAR QUESTIONS THAT IS SO OFTEN TARGET OF UN MEMBERS EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION AND OF PRC ATTACKS.

( IV) JOINT CIRCULATION OF AGREEMENT WILL BE VIEWED TO SOME

EXTENT IN CONTEXT OF US PRESS REPORTS  
POINTING TO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGREEMENT  
AND SINO- SOVIET CONFLICT.  
( V) WE ARE NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR ABOUT RELATIONSHIP OF THIS AGREEMENT TO SOVIETS NON-USE OF FORCE ITEM, ON WHICH WE ABSTAINED LAST YEAR ( AND FOR WHICH SOVS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO OBTAIN SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION). BUT WE WOULD GUESS THAT SOVS FORESEE POSSIBILITY OF EXPLOITING THIS JOINTLY CIRCULATED DOCUMENT AS ARGUMENT IN SOLICITING OTHER' S SUPPORT ON NUF AT 28 TH GA. WE UNDOUBTEDLY CAN ARGUE HERE THAT NUF AND AGREEMENT ARE QUITE DISCRETE MATTERS BUT SOVS NEVERTHELESS WOULD GAIN SLIGHT ADVANTAGE IN IMPROVED UN ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING NUF.

5. IF DEPT WISHES TO GIVE POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THIS SOV INITIATIVE, IT MAY ALSO WISH TO CONSIDER AGREEING TO JOINT CIRCULATION OF COMMUNIQUE AND DECLINING JOINT CIRCULATION OF NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT.

6. IN SECOND CONVERSATION JUNE 28, ISSRAELIAN PRESSED FOR EARLY RESPONSE, MENTIONING THAT 1972 MOSCOW DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED FOUR DAYS AFTER SUMMIT AND THAT SMUN REQUIRED TO RESPOND RAPIDLY TO MOSCOW. HE RAISED POSSIBILITY THAT SOVS MIGHT UNILATERALLY REQUEST CIRCULATION OF DOCUMENTS. COMMENT: FROM HERE THIS ALTERNATIVE SEEMS TO HAVE POSSIBLE ADVANTAGE THAT SOVS WOULD BE ONES, IN EYES OF PRC, FLAUNTING SUPERPOWER COOPERATIONS.

7. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON RESPONSE TO SOVS. WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE TO ENABLE US TO REPLY TO SOVS ASAP, PARTICULARLY IF DECISION FAVORS JOINT CIRCULATION OF ONE OR BOTH DOCUMENTS, SINCE EFFECTIVENESS OF ANY JOINT CIRCULATION  
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WOULD BE DIMINISHED BY DELAY. WHEN AMB SCHAUFLE SEES ISSRAELIAN JUNE 29 AT LUNCH HE WILL SAY MATTER REFERRED TO WASHINGTON WHICH ASSURES US THAT RESPONSE WILL BE FORTHCOMING ASAP.  
SCHAUFLE

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 JUN 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
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**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS SCHAUFLE  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**To:** IO  
**Type:** TE  
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